671 disputes in 39 hsien (out of a total of 86) in Hunan.
593 No statistics were given for the North China
582 Region.[28]

It seems reasonable to assume that the figures are incomplete and the categories not comparable because the Communists had no more accurate material to offer. If the incidence of violence in connection with marital and family disputes is truly reflected in these figures, their extension into yearly rates shows these deaths occurred at the rate of less than two per hundred-thousand population in the Northwest Region, less than four per hundred-thousand in the East China Region, and less than nine per hundred-thousand in Hunan. It should be remembered, however, that these ratios are based on incomplete figures and that the incidence of violence may have resulted as much from Communist pressures as from the authoritarian character of the traditional family.

671 Divorce figures released by the Communists
582 are equally difficult to render meaningful because of gaps in statistics and the different time spans and categories which are given for the figures cited. For the nation as a whole, the number of divorces was reported to have risen from 186,000 in 1950 (the last seven months of it under the New Marriage Law), to 409,500 in 1951, and to 398,000 in the first half of 1952.[29] The latter

28. C.B., 236, p. 5.
29. Ibid., 243, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

671 figure is only slightly higher than the number of
586 divorces for all of 1952 in the United States, whose population is about one-quarter that of China.[30] So far as is known, no separate figure for the number of divorces in the North China Region has been made public.

671 The latest picture of the progress of family
582 reform to be released by the Communist regime
573 was contained in the March 1955 report of the Marriage Law Implementing Committee. Although most of the report was couched in generalities, it included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." According to the committee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90-95 per cent of the homes and was "bad" in only 5-10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10-15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The report added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer "oppressed, beaten, or scolded," but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[31]

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30. Divorces in the United States during 1952 totaled 392,000. See The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, Harry Hansen, ed., New York, New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1955, p. 312.

31. SCMP., 1002, p. 3.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

589 The United States census reports widowers as 7.1 per cent of the males and widows as 15.1 per cent of the females who had been married.
162 Seven per cent of the Ting Hsien widows and 17.5 per cent of the widowers were under 30 years of age. Four of the widowers but none of the widows were under 20.

There evidently was a definite relationship between the proportion of males who were widowers and the amount of land owned by their families. While the widowers were 4.3 per cent of the males in the 515 families, they were 5.1 per cent in the families with less than 50 mu, 3.2 per cent in the families with 50 to 99 mu, and 0.8 per cent of the males in the families with 100 or more mu. The one widower in the latter group had lost his wife before he was 15. While a possibly lower female mortality in the wealthier families might account for some of the differences in the percentages, most of the difference appears to be the result of a higher remarriage rate in the families with the larger farms.

For the widows the figures do not show the same sort of variation. They were 9.4 per cent of the females in the families with less than 50 mu, 5.6 per cent in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 7.0 per cent in the 100 mu and over group. For the entire group the figure was 8.2 per cent.

Sixty-one per cent of the men who had lost their first wives had remarried, but only 14 per cent of the women who had lost their first husbands.

595 Twenty-two plural marriages were reported by the 5,255 families and
162 eight by the 515 families. Affecting less than one per cent of the families,
589 concubinage was not a large factor in this rural area. The desire for sons was given as the reason for taking a concubine. As might be expected, the amount of land owned by the family definitely influenced the amount of concubinage. In the 515 families, the rate was one in 18 for the families with over 100 mu, but only one in 183 for the families with less than 50 mu.

586 Two divorces were reported in the 515 families. The field investi-
162 gators reported that, in one family, the difficulty arose over the fact that the bride's family felt that they had been cheated by the marriage middle-man. Even though the groom's family had 35 mu of land and an income of $120 a year from selling bread and other supplementary occupations, her parents felt that his economic status was not what they should have for their daughter. Trouble developed between the families and the couple separated about a year after their marriage.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) AF12 North China AF1

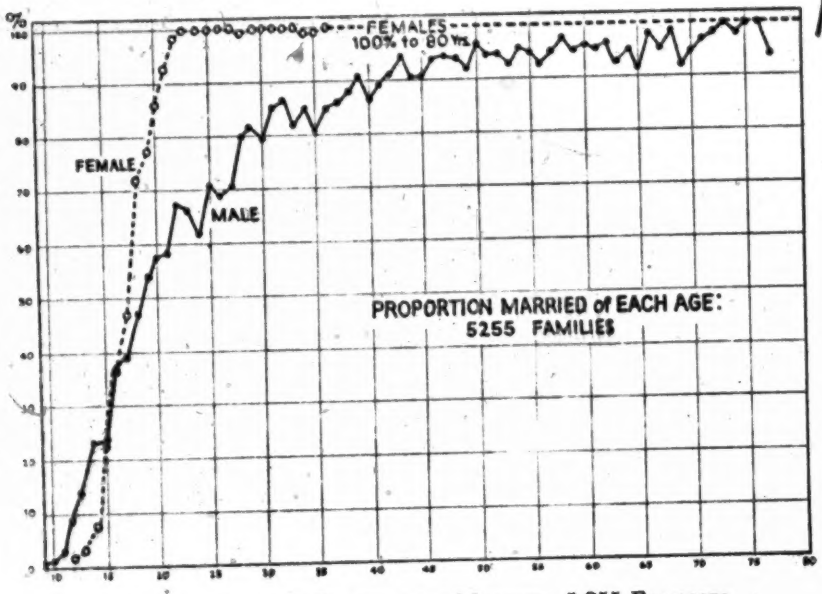

FIGURE 9. AGE AND PROPORTION MARRIED, 5,255 FAMILIES

In the second family the bride did not heed the teachings of her new home. She was flirtatious and quarreled almost constantly with her husband and her mother-in-law. A divorce was finally arranged and she returned to her family. The man remarried in less than a year. The reporter made special note of the fact that the man's second wife had borne him a son.

Age and Marriage

Early and well-nigh universal marriage was very definitely an integral part of the Chinese rural social system. This was particularly true for the women. No unmarried females over 35 years of age were listed in the 5,255 families. There were only three over 22 and only five over 21 years of age. This was only 0.66 per cent of the women over 21. The graph in Figure 9 shows how rapidly the proportion married increased from 1.4 per cent of the 12 year old girls to 100 per cent of those 23 years old. The big jump from 48 per cent for the 17 year old girls to 72 per cent for those 18 years old shows clearly that, as least in that group